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ruled throughout the North, until Abraham Lincoln had to avail himself of the underground railroad to escape a mob; and a mob had ruled him and his administration to the present hour, and proposed to rule still.

Mr. P. said he knew these might be called discouraging words, but they were not discouraging to him. The truth was, they were deceived, and it was time that they knew it. The government intended compromise—nothing more. There were traitors in the Cabinet as well as in the army. There were traitors even in our midst, and even in Baltimore and the border States, until the hour came, that traitors would make itself heard and felt. Events had led the government thus far, as signally as the pillar of fire by night and of cloud by day led the children of Israel out of the bondage of Egypt; and it was for the people still to command events. He remembered that Mr. Phillips once said it was the business of a statesman to know circumstances. He went beyond that, in his estimation of statesmanship, and thought it was the business of a statesman to shape circumstances and to control them. Slavery was the cause of this calamity, as everybody was convinced. Then what would an enlightened statesmanship, a pure Christianity and a sound policy dictate in regard to it? He should think, the removal of slavery, as the cause of the evil. Yet where was the statesman who dares to approach the subject in that light? Now, there was the proposition for a new compromise committee. He had seen the names of Millard Fillmore and Franklin Pierce mentioned, and expected, as he read along, to see the name of Lot's wife, and two or three unnamed persons from the catacombs of Egypt. (Laughter.) What did such names as these indicate? Anything like the seriousness of purpose? No. The government meant to sell out the people; and they had more to be ashamed of their government than from Jefferson Davis and all his crew. He did not know how the sensibilities of the people were; waiting—waiting—looking to the government for aid and deliverance! I tell you, said Mr. P., the earthquake, the whirlwind, and the fire have not the still small voice of the spirit of God in them; and when they shall have passed away and done their fearful work, if we also allow ourselves to be deceived, there will be none left in that day of disaster to lift up the standard of the spirit of truth and of God.

Mr. P. then proceeded to speak of the battles of Great Bethel and Bull Run, the former of which he called a blunder, and the latter a great deal worse. It was downright murder, he said; and the blood of the slaughtered soldiers hung heavy on the skirts of Abraham Lincoln and all his Cabinet. The South, according to military men, had not made a single military blunder yet. He told the people, when they first commenced these military operations, that they meant nothing; they would have appointed better instruments if they had intended or expected to fight. What did Gen. Butler know about military operations? Great Bethel could answer that. What reason had they to expect anything better of Nathaniel P. Banks? When he saw men professing to be engaged in an earnest cause appointing such instruments, he knew they were heartless, if nothing more. He did not believe there was ever a time when the Abolitionists were so much needed as to-day; and he was not enough from believing that the murky age of the world was at its worst. When compromise came to the order of the day again, he wondered what Mr. Phillips's life would be worth! Let the Abolitionists beware!

Until we make our cause such, said Mr. P., that we shall be glorious, even in defeat, we shall not be worth anything of glory. We have enough at stake, so that we might be defeated in a hundred battles and yet be the admiration of the world. Instead of that, a victory that would eclipse Waterloo, and entirely drown out the proudest achievements of Bonaparte, would only descend to the infamy and disgrace of a people who were weak to sustain a government the design and object of which is the propagation and perpetuation of slavery. I have no higher opinion of Abraham Lincoln, and his Cabinet, and the clerks in the various departments, than I have of the President and Cabinet and clerks of the Confederate States. They have told us out, and they expect the Union and the continuance of the government to be their reward. It remains for you to say whether it shall be so. I want to see earnestness on the part of the people. I want to see conventions called to express the opinions of the people. The President will act when the people command, and command in the peremptory tone which the South has been accustomed to use whenever she has been obeyed by the North. The other day, a question came up which it was said the President had for "under advisement." What did you mean, said he, was he waiting to see what New York, New England, the West and North-West would say. But New York and New England see nothing at all in the glory of the war; and that very war is to be the destruction of liberty in this country. We have not a man to gather up the forces of humanity and concentrate them in one invincible thunderbolt against the infernal institution; and until we have, why, falling on that rock, we are already broken; or else, it will fall upon us, and grind us to powder. (Applause.)

Mr. GARNISON said that perhaps the true position to be taken would lie between that indicated by the splendid and jubilant speech of Mr. Foss, and that of Mr. Pillsbury, which was somewhat sombre and depressing. He (Mr. G.) certainly thought there was very broad difference between the position of Abraham Lincoln, and that occupied by Jefferson Davis; between the issue presented, as it respects free institutions, on the one hand, and the rule of the Slave Power on the other, to the subversion of all freedom. He knew that the attempt was making by the government to preserve the old order of things; but that was impossible, for the reason that the South would do nothing less than what she demands, and she demands so much that the North, with all her pro-slavery tendencies, would be unable to get down low enough to effect a reconciliation.

But they were asking the government to abolish slavery. It was a very easy thing for them to say, said Mr. Lincoln, why don't you proclaim emancipation to the slaves in the South, and thus conclude the war for "under advisement." What did you mean, said Mr. Pillsbury had said he believed that was not it. Mr. Lincoln would rather see slavery abolished than have it remain. Jefferson Davis would rather see slavery established, and freedom abolished. That was the difference between the parties. Then, why did not Mr. Lincoln abolish slavery? Probably, because he was not yet convinced that he would be sustained by the popular feeling of the North, without which he could do nothing. He (Mr. G.) believed that the Cabinet would to-day make a proclamation of freedom to the slaves of the South, if they could only be assured that it would be sustained by the popular sentiment. The question was, were the people disposed to forget party names, at this crisis; and did they see that, unless emancipation be declared, the nation is going down to irretrievable ruin? He had his fears in regard to it; still, he would have the proclamation made, because he believed it would be well-pleasing to God; because he knew it would be blessed; because he was satisfied that, under the war power, it would be abundantly warranted; and because he believed that such a measure was the only hope for the country. If the slaves were not emancipated, insurrection must follow civil war or accommodation; for when the slaves found that there was no hope for them through the government, they would rise in their despair and desperation, and we should have a servile as well as a civil war to curse and desolate our land.

Mr. PHILLIPS was loudly called for, (many being present who did not have an opportunity to hear him the morning,) who came to the platform, and made a short speech, following the same general train of thought as in his previous remarks. He was heard with great pleasure, and warmly applauded throughout.

The President then said, that whether the audience were prepared to endorse all the views expressed by Mr. Pillsbury or not, he had no doubt they would heartily endorse the resolution presented by him.

The resolution was again read, and adopted, with only two dissenting votes.

MISS MARY GREW, of Philadelphia, was then introduced by the President, as one who had long been a noble advocate of the glorious cause.

SPEECH OF MISS MARY GREW.

When Mr. Phillips told you that State street and Wall street demand now the abolition of slavery, for the salvation of trade, he might have added that Market street and Third street, in Philadelphia, join in that cry. Pro-slavery, slave-hunting Philadelphia, whose name you have connected with memories of Judge Kane and Commissioner Ingraham,—God has taken them to himself—Philadelphia now swells that loud cry from all our commercial cities, "Give us the abolition of slavery, because we cannot live without trade!"

If there are, on the face of the earth, any people who have a right to exult to-day, Mr. President, it is surely the American Abolitionists. Who, if they may not, has a right to sing "Glory to God in the highest?" For we stand in the midst of our fast-fulfilling predictions, and see God's retributive justice proving true. "His mercy endureth for ever." Thirty years ago nearly, a few Abolitionists in this land stood up and declared to the nation that they were going to abolish the mighty institution of slavery. They were few, and, as the world counts weakness, they were weak; but they said to the nation, strong and proud in its strength, "We will strike down to death this institution which you cherish and in which you trust." And the nation laughed them to scorn. Their opponents (and who were not their opponents?) confronted them with the strength of the Church, with the power of the government, with the wealth of the commercial classes, and proved most conclusively that all these were against them. They pointed to the literature of the land, to the intellectual strength of the land, and demonstrated so that they thought there was no remedy, that all this force against the Abolitionists, who arrayed themselves in opposition to this mighty institution; and, thus confronting us, and thus pointing on this side and on that, to the weapons of our adversaries, they said, as host after host marshalled themselves against us, "How do you expect to succeed, in the face of all this, and in spite of all this?" Undaunted, the Abolitionists calmly replied, "In the face of all this, and in spite of all this, and more than this, we expect to succeed, because 'the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.'"

Now, where stand we, after nearly thirty years of labor and of battle? We said, in the outset, to this proud nation, "God gives you your choice between the peaceful abolition of slavery and the dissolution of your Union; between doing justice to the slave and dismemberment." And they laughed us to scorn. To-day, the Union is dismembered. To-day, that proud nation, which, a quarter of a century ago, said, "I sit a queen, and shall see no sorrow; who is the Lord, that I should obey him, or hearken unto his voice?" is broken in pieces. To-day, we need utter no word to prove our predictions true. They are fulfilling themselves before our eyes; and that proud Union, instead of boasts, has taken up the cry and the wail of distress, and now is struggling for life. Slavery, which cherished, and revealed, and fought, and now points its guns at the heart of the nation, and which shall go down in the struggle, God only knows.

But wherefore do we rejoice? It was said here just now, that they who are fighting our battles, for the battles of the nation, are not fighting for the freedom of the slave, and do not care to free him. Slavery, very likely, will never be killed, and never will leave this nation's heart to do this thing. They are not fighting it; but God does, and he, not General Scott, is leading our armies. What may be, or may not be, the result of this war, none can foresee; for none, in times like these, can predict to-day the events to-morrow. None need; at least of all, the Abolitionists. Through all the intermediate stages of this war, through all the defeats and victories—little heedling what may be its aspect to-day or next week—the Abolitionist sees the one great aim and end, the one great victory of the war. There is but one victory to be obtained, and all things else will be defeated. That victory is the abolition of slavery—the wiping out of the cause of the war. To that end we see all things tending; to that victory we see God leading the armies of the nation. To that He has been leading his own hosts through this long struggle of righteousness against oppression. Who have fought out this battle? They who, through evil report and good report, have kept well their pledges of fidelity to the slave; have sought ever that one end. They told the nation what God required of it, and the alternative which he gave it. Not on them rests, to-day, the blood of those who fall in battle; for the nation chose not to take the alternative of peaceful abolition, and they are not responsible for it. Therefore, at this hour, the anniversary of British emancipation, it is unbecomingly to us, because we remember that there are no sadder words than "might have been"—is yet a day of great joy to us. We rejoice, because the deliverance of the slave is at hand. And we are not to be discouraged by any of those considerations which are so frequently urged upon us, that those who are carrying out God's will, unknowingly, do not sympathize with us; for God uses all instruments to do his work. But why should we be either surprised or discouraged, when we see exactly the state of things which for years we have been predicting? Here we stand to-day exactly where, some twenty five years ago, our earliest Abolitionists said the nation would stand if she continued her warfare against God; and now the timid Abolitionist is half afraid to trust events to work themselves out; is half afraid that, after all, God will not keep his promises to man. We all know that it is through terrible storm and conflict—it may be through oceans of blood—that we as well as our nation are to pass, in order to attain this victory. But what then? Is any thing worse than continued slavery? Are all the horrors of war which you can conceive, worse than the horrors of that continued slavery, in which all the victories are on one side and all the defeats are suffered on the other? That is the war which has been going on for the thirty years, and which we have been trying to bring to a peaceful end; and though we did not succeed in that, are we not to thank God and take courage that it is about to be brought to an end in any way?

We rejoice, then, to-day, as the slave's representatives, standing here and seeing in the distance the day of his deliverance drawing nigh. We rejoice that God has proved Himself again, as He ever proves Himself, true to his own words of promise or of threat. We rejoice for the sake of all those who have trusted in Him, that they have found Him true, and that they henceforward can trust, from their own long experience, as well as from the faith with which they began the war, that the weapons of his warfare are to be successful. And what then, my friends? Are we to take off our armor, fold our hands, and sit down, feeling that the victory is already won? Not quite yet, because four millions of slaves still wear their chains; and we must not yet cease our work. The party which has brought the nation up to the point on which it stands to-day, will surely not cease from their efforts, and allow the nation to slip backward from the height which it has attained; for you know that it is only by the continued efforts of the Abolitionists that any party in the nation has made any advance towards freedom, and it is only by their supporting strength that any party, in or out of the government, now stands upright, demanding the triumph of freedom.

Not now, just on the verge of victory, shall we let go our arms, and feel that now, when all might be lost by our withdrawal, we shall fall, who for long years have endured persecution, the sneers of the world, the threatenings, and the fulfilled threatenings, of the Pillsbury have stood against the enemies of the

this nation not now, when the nation is at last ready to join in our cry, shall we step down from our platform, or let go our grasp on the sword of the Spirit, by which, with God's help, we have won our victories. It shall never be said that the American Anti-Slavery Society has failed in its duty in the last hour—that its standard-bearer has fainted. No, my friends, we must keep that standard floating yet a little while longer, let it cost what it may!—a little while longer, till it shall wave in the breeze that bears us to the slave's jubilee song. Then, then we may hurl it, as we cry—"Not unto us, O Lord, but unto Thee, now be the glory!" while the multitude take up the shout with which we commenced our warfare, and cry—"Hallelujah" for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth!" (Loud and prolonged applause.)

E. H. HEYWOOD was then introduced, who spoke very briefly, (the hour of adjournment being close at hand), but to great acceptance; and at the close of his remarks, the audience were dismissed by Rev. S. J. MAY, with these parting words—"My heart's desire and prayer to God for us all, is that we may be steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord; inasmuch as we know that our labor will not be in vain in the Lord."

ESSEX CO. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A quarterly meeting of the Essex County A. S. Society was held in Lyceum Hall, Salem, on Sunday August 14th.

The meeting was called to order by the President, (C. L. Remond,) of Salem, and in the absence of the Secretary, Joseph Merrill, of Danvers, was chosen Secretary, *pro tem*.

The meeting was addressed by the President in his usual eloquent manner, by James N. Buffum, in his matter-of-fact arguments, and by A. T. Foss and Parker Pillsbury with their iron-linked logic, driving every nail to the head, and clenching it as they went.

On motion, it was voted, that Eli F. Burnham, Maria S. Page, C. L. Remond, and Martha Bassett be a Committee on Finance.

On motion of Josiah Hayward, it voted, that when we do adjourn, we adjourn to meet at half-past 2 o'clock.

Voted to adjourn.

Met agreeably to adjournment, J. N. Buffum, first Vice President, in the chair.

The following resolutions were presented by Parker Pillsbury, and accepted, and the meeting was addressed by Parker Pillsbury, John T. Page, John A. Innis, C. L. Remond, and J. N. Buffum:—

- Resolved, That the work of the true abolitionists is not done or materially affected by any charge whatever in the government, so long as it recognizes slavery as an Institution to be protected and prolonged, instead of execrated and exterminated.
- Resolved, That slavery is a National and Northern, as well as Southern crime, and the North cannot wash away its participation in it, in the blood of its Southern accomplices; however constitutional may be its policy to compel the seceded States back to their allegiance, and to restore the public property, so reasonably as well as feloniously seized by them.
- Resolved, That slavery and the agitation of the abolitionists for its overthrow, are indeed the only causes of the present fearful hostility between the North and the South—illustrating and proving the "IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT" doctrine, once so boldly enunciated, both by Secretary Seward and President Lincoln, and fulfilling the prophecy of the anti-slavery movement for thirty years, that slavery and slaveholders would rule the nation while it was possible, and ruin, when they could no longer rule.
- Resolved, That slavery being the grand cause of our present national calamity, a true statesmanship, a high patriotism, an enlightened philosophy, genuine religious faith, "and a decent regard for the opinions of mankind," would dictate its immediate and entire overthrow.
- Resolved, That the necessity for such a measure is not only becoming more and more apparent every hour for the successful prosecution of the present conflict, but is obviously the demand of a vast majority of the reflecting people of the North.

On motion of C. L. Remond, it was voted to adjourn to half-past 6 o'clock, P. M.

EVENING SESSION.

The meeting was called to order by J. N. Buffum, and addressed by J. N. Buffum, A. T. Foss, Parker Pillsbury, and C. L. Remond.

Voted, That we adjourn to meet at such place as the Executive Committee may appoint, three months from this day.

The meetings, though small in numbers, were of universal interest. Members came from various parts of the country to help forward the "good time coming"; sure to come, in spite of the wiles of pro-slavery priests, and corrupt, lying, compromising politicians.

The general feeling of the people is, that we ought to hold more of these meetings, to give tone to the public sentiment in this our day of trial. This meeting was more successful than some of us expected, even financially not a failure, as the Agent's report will show.

JOSEPH MERRILL, *Sec'y pro tem*.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A letter from W. C. (Gosport, N. Y.) has been received; but the previous letter of which he speaks, containing money, has not come to hand. Thanks for his account of the celebration of Aug. 1st, at Drummondville; we have an account of the same meeting in the *Toronto Globe*, but have no room for either this week.

THE "FRATERNITY" PROPOSE TO OBSERVE THE

forthcoming anniversary of the birthday of the late Theodore Parker by suitable exercises at Allston Hall, on Friday evening, the 23d inst. Brief addresses will be made by several of Mr. Parker's friends, interspersed with music, and the occasion will doubtless be one of much interest.

Free tickets of admission may be had at the Anti-Slavery Office.

FIT ASSOCIATES.

In a list, given by the *Journal of Commerce*, of what it calls "Peace Newspapers" in the Northern Free States, the only ones ranked under that head in this city, and further designated as "opposed to the present war," are the *Boston Courier* and the *Boston Herald*.

NATIONAL FAST.

A proclamation for a Fast, to be observed by the people of the United States of America on the last Thursday in September, has been signed by President Lincoln. It recommends prayer and humiliation, but says not a word of reformation. It proposes fasting, but passes by in silence the "one thing needful" in our present exigency—the abolition of slavery.

THE WHOLE STORY TOLD.

The *London Spectator* has this paragraph under its heading of "News of the Week":

"The American Congress has voted the men and money required by the President, and twenty per cent. more, and the House of Representatives has affirmed, by 92 to 55, that it is 'no part of the duty of Congress to capture fugitive slaves.' The hand moves away from the money, the rifles, and when the finger passes the hour, the knell of slavery will ring out with a clang which will startle Europe."

ARREST OF MR. FAULKNER.

Ex-Minister Faulkner has been arrested in Washington, just in time to prevent his intended departure. Letters received by recent steamers show him giving aid and comfort to rebel agents abroad, as he has done to their allies here. Some of his correspondence with Richmond has been intercepted. A cavalry regiment in Winchester, Va., was waiting his coming as its colonel.

A LETTER FROM MINISTER FOGG

states that Garibaldi said to him—"If your war is for freedom, I am with you with 20,000 men." So says the *Tribune*.

WILLIAMSON SAYS, MINISTER FOGG

is not a creditable man.

GEN. BUTLER'S CONTRABAND OF WAR.

PART III.

By what authority do the officers of the United States army assume to send back fugitive slaves, and to compel, under the fearful penalty of disobedience of orders, the brave and high-souled men under command to become slave-catchers and the keepers of the slave-pens, to which they every now and then convert their camps at the bidding of some fragment of the old slave-oligarchy?

The Fugitive Slave Act has ceased to exist for traitors and rebels. They have renounced the Constitution and the laws, are levying war against them and against the nation which ordained, and its government which administers them. Protection and allegiance are correlative. The denial of one cancels the obligation of the other.

But if the Fugitive Slave Act were still in full force, it would not apply to a fugitive slave *within* the same State where he made escape, nor within the District of Columbia. "Persons held to service or labor in one State, escaping into another," is the language of the Constitution. Those are the only persons who come within the scope of the Act, except of course, all men and women of the Free States, of whom it makes slave-hounds and sluts.

It is a principle of all municipal laws that any party may refuse and renounce a law passed for their expense and behoof. The South has renounced and disavowed the fugitive enactment with all the rest, and only asks that which is the first desire and greatest need of criminals, "to be let alone."

To cap the climax of absurdity and iniquity, there is in our camps, forts and ships of war, no tribunal, as provided by the Act, to try a man for his liberty; nor any prescribed by the Act, to be adduced; in a word, none of the formalities of a trial or sentence. The person claimed, is, or can be, in those places observed; nor does any authority, created by this act, grant a certificate for "his taking off."

It is by the war power, and by that alone, that these detestable, rather, these devilish, deeds have been done.

Over half a century, upon the plea that our hands were tied by the Constitution of our fathers, we have warmly repelled the reproaches, heaped upon us by the world, for shouting liberty with our lips, while cherishing slavery in our bosom; yet no sooner are our hands freed from the bonds of the slaveholders, than this by their own malignant and murderous assaults upon the nation, than we apply ourselves with new vigor and a more devoted subservency to their dirty and fiendish work!

"What trick, what starting-hole shall we now find To hide us from this open and apparent shame."

The foundation of the summary and terrible code of arms, is the unavoidable necessity and duty of prosecuting a just war with success, of executing justice upon wicked and bloody tyrants and aggressors; extinguishing the cause or causes, which kindle their hostility, and procuring the speediest return of peace, compatible with the accomplishment of these objects.

The return to enemies and traitors of the fugitive slaves is as impious and fatal an outrage as to every one of these objects of the war, and is consequently in self-evident violation of its laws. It is using the war power to protract and aggravate the horrors of war. It is to spare its guilty authors, multiply its innocent victims, and confirm and perpetuate its cause. It is an inexplicable crime against the poor and oppressed, and an immeasurable wrong and injury to the people, who have, under God, the highest moral and legal title to the services of the sympathizing and well-affected of the whole nation. He who inhumanly and in violation of law rejects the offer of devoted service to the republic, so long as she stands in need, and thrusts the devoted back to wicked torments and into the ranks and trenches of the traitors, whence he may never escape more, commits manifold moral treason, to say the very least of it. If he be a military officer, acting under orders, he should disobey them; for by the Rules and Articles¹ established by Congress for the government of the army, no officer or soldier is bound to obey an unlawful order. If he act on his own responsibility, and with a design of "giving intelligence" and "aid" to the enemies of the United States, he ought to suffer death. If he err from mere force of habit and tradition, like the Scythian slaves, who after beating their masters in a succession of combats with the sword, submitted trembling and terror-stricken when their masters drew down the sword and drew their whips, he should be erased from the army rolls, and never cripples for life. If he be a cabinet or other high civil officer, directing or counselling the rendition of a slave by the military arm, he should be removed by the President, or impeached and cast out by Congress. A few stern and vigorous examples would teach our foes and friends too, together with the whole nest of most pernicious spies, prostitutes, and traitors in the metropolis, that it is not a cheap and trivial affair to attempt the life of a nation, and the life of liberty.

There is no principle or rule of war which authorizes us to treat slaves, flying to us from traitors and rebels in any other manner than we would deserters and refugees from their armies and hangmen, their Lynch law and prison-houses.

I might rest this point on natural right, on the power of civilized and Christian warriors to unmake slaves of whom heathen and barbarous wars originally made and, above all, upon the total absence of any advantage or principle or authority. But I will not do so. English and American history furnish positive and practical proofs of the position.

Two days after the preliminary treaty of independence and peace between the United States and Great Britain had been agreed to by Franklin, John Adams, and Jay on the part of the United States, Henry Laurens of South Carolina, appointed with them to conduct the negotiation, arrived at Paris, and insisted upon the insertion of an additional article, stipulating that "no slaves or other property" should be carried off by the British army at the evacuation of the posts in their occupation. The demand was admitted by the British Commissioners, and the treaty, so modified, signed November 30, 1782.

A large number of slaves, who had taken refuge with the enemy's forces, or been captured by them, and not yet removed, were claimed by Washington under the above-mentioned article. But Sir Guy Carleton, commander-in-chief of the evacuating army, rejected the claim, maintaining that his prisoners and protégés were not embraced in the stipulation. He undoubtedly regarded them as freemen and British subjects from the moment of their capture or reception, and so not touched by the treaty; and he took good care to secure their safety by sending them away in the first embarkation some months prior to evacuation day. Honor to the memory of the brave and faithful veteran! He consented to leave a list of these persons, to the end that those applying to be their owners might try their luck, in ascertaining to his government, for compensation. The question remained unsettled till 1794, when, by Jay's treaty, the claim was formally relinquished. This was one great cause of the Southern rage against the treaty and the negotiator. He was called by the *Richmond Enquirer*, "that damned infernal villain, John Jay."

[To be continued.]

CONCORD, N. H., August 8. The office of the *Democratic Standard* was completely rifled of its contents by a party of soldiers, who returned to Concord the returned 1st regiment, and citizens. The Standard, which has been a long time "sneezing," published an article reflecting on the soldiers. They demanded a "sneezing cure," and the Standard, and proprietors, took up broomsticks and axes out the windows and dashed them into the mob, while the city authorities endeavored to quell the disturbance. The Palmers fired four shots, wounding two of the soldiers. The office was immediately guarded by the police, and the soldiers were finally found and carried to the police station under protection of the

THE "CONTRABAND" QUESTION.

[illegible]

THE UNION TRIUMPH IN KENTUCKY. The Louisville papers bring accounts of the Union triumph at the recent election in Kentucky. In the city of Louisville the Union candidate for the legislature was elected by an unanimous vote. The Journal comments upon the general result in the following jubilant style:—

"Never did a party make greater and more determined efforts to carry an election than the secessionists of Louisville did to elect a legislature favorable to all possible expedients for inflaming and exasperating the public mind. They endeavored to incite our people even to the pitch of forcible resistance to the laws. They invented all sorts of false issues, and pressed by them a whole power and ingenuity. Their candidates thought to disguise their real position, and presented false issues in the hope of deceiving at least a portion of the community. They resorted to all possible means to excite the passions, to protestations. Their organ put forth all its powers of persuasion, appealing alike to all the best and all the worst passions of human nature. All of them seemed to realize the truth, that the only way to win upon the conflict. And now look at the vote. Never, never was a party more utterly annihilated.

Of course our returns for the rest of Kentucky are very different, but we have no cause to be troubled. The Union is the opponent of secession, have achieved an overwhelming victory throughout the State. It is this a fact, if a large majority of the men elected yesterday to the next legislature are Union men, the secessionists will be bound to drop the idea of secession to close. If the people, by a resounding majority, have still again pronounced their verdict in favor of the Union, the secessionists cannot long remain in power. They will be driven from office by a revolution and turmoil without willingly acting the part of mischievous and pestilent citizens."

BANGOR, Me., August 12. At 1 o'clock to day the *Bangor Democrat*, a secession sheet, was completely cleared out by a large number of people. During the clearing out, the editor, who was present, was also cleared it out, and burnt the contents in the street. Mr. Emery, the editor, escaped unharmed. On Jones, a barber, who made some demonstration, was seized, and he, too, was rescued and put in jail.

27.—The Richmond Examiner, of the 8th, says the rebel Congress, Tuesday, considered the bill for public defence. The bill authorizes the President to employ the military conformably to the act of March 10 and to accept 400,000 volunteers.

GARIBALDI APPOINTED A MAJOR GENERAL.—The intimations which have been flying through the press lately, that Garibaldi had been elected to the office of Major General, have been confirmed. The effect of that Garibaldi had tendered his services to the Federal Government, at last prove correct. His offer has been accepted, and he has been tendered an appointment as Major General in the American volunteer army.—*Journal of Commerce.*

CONTRIBUTIONS

At the Abington Celebration, August 1, 1861.

C. K. Whipple,	1 00	Daniel Holbrook,	50
Russell Marston,	1 00	H. W. Blanchard,	50
C. Bradford,	1 00	Wm. Hunt,	50
Chap.,	25	C. B. Reed,	50
Richard Clay,	10 00	Edmund Jackson,	2 00
Stephen and Martha	10 00	Edwin Thompson,	50
Chap.,	50	Wm. A. W. Chapman,	50
C. Wellington,	1 00	H. B. Clarke,	50
Hon. F. W. Bird,	1 00	H. Willey,	50
W. L. Garrison, Jr.,	1 00	E. H. Bradford,	50
Parier Pillsbury,	1 00	S. B. Dyer,	50
A. L. Russell,	1 00	W. H. Noyes,	1 00
Daniel Ricketson,	50	Miss Dora Neill,	50
George W. Moore,	50	Wm. D. Adams,	1 00
Horatio H. Bess,	50	Wm. do.,	1 00
Sarah J. Davis,	50	John L. Whiting,	50
C. H. Collins,	50	W. W. Dutcher,	1 00
Wm. H. Smith,	50	H. B. Hall,	50
J. B. Jackson,	25	Mary D. Sprague,	50
J. Haywood,	50	Ellis Richards,	50
A. M. Chase,	50	Rev. S. J. May,	1 00
Saml. L. Brew,	50	C. D. Draper,	50
S. Cushing,	1 00	C. A. Joy,	2 00
Edw. Goodwin,	1 00	Mrs. Lord,	50
Mary G. Richardson,	50	John W. Melony,	50
W. M. Weston,	1 00	Levia Melaneth,	50
H. P. Kendrick,	1 00	— Cabill,	1 00
Wm. Buckley,	1 00	D. Smucker,	50
S. Gardner,	50	Wm. G. Smith,	50
Rufus Kendrick,	1 00	Cornelius Cowing,	50
Mrs. Kendrick,	1 00	H. M. G.,	50
Wm. L. Garrison,	50	Wm. L. Garrison,	50
C. H. Collins,	50	Supplia L. Little, New-	1 00
C. M. Minot,	1 00	port, R. I.,	50
— Newcomb,	50	— do.,	50
E. Hobart,	50	Jash of sundry persons, 17	50

PLEDGES.

Wendell Phillips,	\$5 00
Miss Caroline E. Putnam,	10 00
E. Hewitt,	10 00
F. Pool, Abington,	0 10
	\$69 10
Whole contribution,	\$106 10

ST. MARY'S LAKE WATER-CURE

OPENED BY
H. A. PETERMAN, M. D.

THE Proprietors of this Institution take pleasure in announcing to the invalids of Michigan and its neighboring States, that they have opened their WATER-CURE at St. Mary's Lake, and are now in readiness to receive patients.

This Institution is situated in one of the most healthful and pleasant locations in the State, on the banks of a beautiful little lake, four miles North of the City of Bay City.

The buildings are new, commodious, and furnished for the comfort and convenience of invalids. The bath-rooms are large, and fitted up with hot, cold, vapor, chlorine, and electrical baths.

The lake, whose waters are as clear and soft as those of a spring from the granite mountain base, is well supplied with boats and bath-houses. No more beautiful fresh water bathing can be found in any land.

Several hundred acres of the grand Old Oak Forest, in the immediate surrounding the lake, have been reserved for pleasure-grounds.

The afflicted, requiring regular treatment, will find this a most desirable establishment, where they can be placed in the best possible condition to bear an operation, and receive the best of care afterwards.

Particular attention given to the treatment of diseases of the eye, and to the cure of those who are afflicted with a cataract, or other impediment to the vision, or of restoring sight to the blind. Our treatment for Cataract is entirely new, and in advance of anything hitherto known.

A supply of beautiful Artificial Eyes kept constantly on hand.

Paralysis, and every variety of Nervous and Chronic Diseases, treated with success.

The Ladies' Department is under the care of Mrs. A. A. Peterman, whose long experience in the treatment of the diseases incident to the female constitution renders her well qualified to attend to the wants of her patients. The practice in that department of the medical profession.

There will be a competent Music Teacher in attendance to give instruction in Piano, Guitar, and Vocal Music, such as may wish to take medical treatment and pursue the study of Music at the same time. For such, this will be found a most desirable location, where the mental and moral improvement of both parents and children, in the music room, the theatre in rambling through the lawns, in the Gymnasium, and in boat-rowing, than which no better exercise can be found.

For the convenience of the invalids help in every department, to make this Cure the convenient home, as well as a comfortable medical treatment.

Those coming as patients should furnish themselves with two comfortable trunks, one for carrying the clothing, and one for carrying the medicine, and one half-dozen bath towels, or more, can be furnished by the Cure at fifty cents per week extra.

TERMS:—From \$10 to \$100 per week, for treatment, board, &c., according to roomed care.

H. F. PETERMAN, M. D.,
Mrs. S. A. PETERMAN, M. D.,
Physicians and Proprietors.

To whom all letters of inquiry should be addressed. Each communication, to insure an answer, should contain post-office address.

St. Mary's Lake, Michigan, May 20, 1861.

WEST-NEWTON
English and Classical School.

THE next term will begin Wednesday, Sept. 3, 1861. Both sexes are received as family or day pupils. For particulars, address

NATHANIEL T. ALLEN.
West Newton, Aug. 15.

HOPEDALE
HOME SCHOOL.

THE next term of this Reformatory and Progressive Institution will commence on Wednesday, Sept. 4, and continue Fifteen weeks. For full particulars, please address

W. H. HAYWOOD, Principal,
Milford, Mass., Aug. 6, 1861.

TRANSIENT BOARDERS.

THE subscriber has just opened House No. 77 Myrtle st., for the accommodation of transient Boarders. The location is in the heart of the city, and is within a few minutes' walk of the most central portions of the city. Every exertion will be made for the comfort of those who may favor the house.

Rooms furnished with or without board, at reasonable rates.

Terms moderate.

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

WAITING.

She is waiting—nearly waiting,
With eyelids heavy and dim;
Waiting—to hear from the battle,
Waiting—for tidings of him.

Trembling, the list she has studied
Of the lot on that terrible day,
But the paper has been containing,
Has been hid from her sight away.

She does not know 'neath the 'missing'
That by others his name shall be read,
For they cannot bear to tell her
Till they know he is living or dead.

And so each day she is waiting
From early morn till night,
For the letter that never cometh
To bless her longing sight.

—And he—ah! he too is waiting,
Though where we cannot tell,
There was danger all around him,
It may be that he fell.

Perhaps he was one of the many
Brave soldiers, young and fair,
Who passed to the spirit-land that day;
Perhaps he is waiting there.

Or it may be—ah! we cannot tell,
It was a sudden fate,
Suffering, sick and wounded,
"Among strangers he may wait."

Perhaps he is a prisoner,
Ah! weary lot indeed,
Waiting—helplessly waiting,
Yet knowing our country's need.

Oh! the summer flowers are blooming,
And the birds sing blithely and gay,
But a cloud is over our sunshine,
For how many are waiting to-day!

R. D. MONROE.

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

The Battle of Sunday, July 1st.

BY ALICE B. HAYES.

We—walking so slowly down the green lane,
With Sabbath-bells chiming, and birds singing psalms,
We—sister with haste, pressing on over the plain,
Mid the tramping of steeds and the drum-beat to arms;
In that cool fresh morning.

We—waiting with faces all reverent and still,
The organ's voice vibrant with praise unto God—
His face set like flint with the impress of will,
To press back the foe, or to die on the soil—
My fair, brave young brother!

We—kneeling to hear benedictions of love,
Our hearts all at peace with the message from Heaven!
He—stretched on the field, gasping, wounded, to prove,
If mercy were found where such courage had striven,
In the midst of the slaughter.

Oh, God!—can I live with the horrible truth!
Scathed through as he lay, with his glittering steel,
Could they look in that face, like a woman's for youth,
And crush out its beauty with musket and heel,
Like bones, or like demons!

That brow I have blessed in my dear mother's place,
Each morning and evening since she went out to rest;
Something down the fair cheek, as my own baby's face,
Those eyes with her look, where my kisses were pressed,
For I saw hers—so tender!

Curses spring to my lips! Oh, God, send the hail
Of swift, ready vengeance for deeds such as this!
Forgo all thy mercy, if judgment must fall!
Forgive my wild heart if it prayeth amiss—
His blood cried up and!

"Amis!"—and the strife of my clamorous grief
I hushed into stillness; what grief like this!
If my poor human heart, with its passions so divine,
Is tortured with pangs, can we guess the Divine,
With depths of lost all searching!

Know eyes more tender looked upward to Thee,
That visage so marred by the torturing cross;
Those smooth noble limbs racked with anguish I see;
The side where the blood and the water gushed down,
From stroke fierce and brutal.

Help! help! white with anguish to take up his prayer;
Help! hearts that are bursting to stifle their cries;
The shout of the people, too, has been there,
To down press of justice, to clothe truth in lies—
To enrage and to madden.

They knew not we loved them; they knew not we prayed
For their weal as our own, "We are brethren," we
plead—
Unceasing those prayers to our Father were made,
When they flung down the palm for palmetto we said,
"Let us still hope to win them."

"God so loved that he gave!" We are giving to these
The lives that were dearer to us than our own—
Let us pray for blood, trusting God to appease
Our heart's craving pain, when He hears on his throne,
"Oh, Father, forgive them!"

"All Soft and Brown the upturned Fields."
BY C. S. ROGERS.

All soft and brown the upturned fields
Lie mellow in the sun;
The very skies yield auguries
Of better days begun;

A warmth, a fulness brooding there,
Which nothing else could bring.
A sense of blessing in the air,
The promise of the spring!

And shall the days of cloud and cold
In truth no more be seen?
The snowing through the loosened mould
Sends up its spikes of green;

Fresh gold upon the willow falls,
Soft lights the uplands steep—
A strange, sweet change, whose coming calls
Such loveliness from sleep!

And I am glad as any bird,
It is a joy to be—
There is no sound of life fresh-stirred
But brings delight to me.

The flow of brooks, the cock's clear call,
From distant hamlets borne—
My pulse beats happy time with all
These voices of the morn.

Oh! Nature! thou my first, best friend!
My earliest love, and best!
With us was never any end
Of confidence and rest;

Here, no reserve, but frank speech,
No need for place apart—
I do not fear to let her hear
The beating of my heart!

THE FATHERLAND.

FROM THE GERMAN OF CLAUD HARRIS.

BY REV. C. T. BROOKS.

Know ye the land? Oh! not on earth it lies—
For which the heart in hours of trouble sighs;
Where flows no tear, no sorrow marks the song,
The good are happy, and the weak are strong.

Know ye the land?
The goal, the heart,
O friends, is there! Press on with heart and soul.

Know ye the way—the rough and thorny road?
The wanderer groans beneath his painful load;
He faints—he sinks; in dust he lifts his eyes.
How long, O Lord? the weary pilgrim sighs.

Know ye the way?
It tends, it tends
To that blest land where every torment ends.

Know ye the Friend—a man—a child of earth,
Yet more, far more than all of human birth;
That rough and thorny road his feet have trod;
Well he can guide poor pilgrims home to God.

Know ye the Friend? His hand, his hand
Conducts us safely to our native land.

The Liberator.

The Highway of American Civilization.

A DISCOURSE.

Preached at Music Hall, Boston, July 14th, 1861.

BY REV. A. D. MAYO, OF ALBANY, N. Y.

LUKE 3: 4, 5, 6.—Prepare ye the way of the Lord.
Make his paths straight. Every valley shall be filled,
and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and
the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall
be made smooth; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

In original lands, when the great king went abroad
to bless any region with the light of his countenance,
he sent before him heralds to declare his coming, and
hosts of men to prepare a road fit for the journeying of
the royal retinue. When John the Baptist came preaching
repentance and remission of sins in the wilderness
of Judea, he declared that his fierce and searching
gospel was but the building of a highway over which
one might march to the peaceful conquest of the earth.
Men were to be frightened into repentance, subdued
to obedience, "the axe to be laid at the root of the tree,"
"the chaff to be burned in unquenchable flame," that
the loftier Spirit might appear, baptizing with the Holy
Ghost and with fire, regenerating the worst and restoring
the vilest to the bosom of the Almighty Love.

So has the great cause of American Christian Civilization
sent its John the Baptist down into the wilderness to preach—
"Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Our
Prophet is a patriotic army of 300,000 men, marching into
the abodes of disorder, despotism and revolt, to announce the coming of
a power whose shoe-latchet it is unworthy to unloose;
even the sublime presence of a higher Religion and
Society than has ever prevailed in these regions of the
earth. Present events in our country have this significance
—That a great movement for the general advancement
of humanity has slowly grown and finally dominated
in twenty of the United States; that in its approach
to the border of an adverse semi-civilization, it has
found itself confronted by the common obstacles of barbarism;
that it has sent forth its armed herald to proclaim
repentance, and build the road towards the Gulf of Mexico
and the Southern pole; that when that way is built, a
Christian order of Society will march over it, peacefully
regarding every hostile institution, restoring man to his rights,
and exalting a Confedery of half-civilized States to the
companionship of a pure religion and a well-ordered government,
through gradual and peaceful change.

To-day, assembled in the church of one who, as
much as any man of our generation, was responsible
for what we now see, let us contemplate the religious
significance of the present condition of American affairs.
If we can look with eyes that penetrate the
mist of popular excitement and delusion, we shall understand
that this conflict in which the country is now engaged
is a religious contest. Its cause is the irresistible
march of a higher religious life from the North
towards the Southern States of the republic; in its
way marring and driving to desperation all the
powers of a decaying Religion and Society; and
forcing them into armed revolt by the very presence
of its exalted purposes: as wily evil is always first
driven to wanton madness by the appearance of
saving love. As it may be carried on under the direction
of a humane and energetic administration of the U. S.
government, the war should become the agency of
those higher ideas and institutions that must finally
prevail over the whole land. If thus conducted and
pressed to its true ending, its results are to be the
opening of a vast area of country, containing a population
of millions of our countrymen, to the influx of
the highest modern life.

1st. Behold how this mighty conflict has been caused
by the irresistible growth of the North into a higher
form of religious faith, carrying along with it all
social, national and political ideas and organizations.
It is false to say that the Northern States have
degenerated spiritually, as they have advanced in
material prosperity. On the contrary, they have
moved faster along the path towards an exalted religious
faith, during the past quarter of a century, than was
ever known of any great people in history. The
source of their best achievements has been the en-
lightenment and expansion of their Religion in the
direction of an inspired Humanitarianism. The Religion
of the past have chiefly been the absorption of
man in God, and his consequent degradation as a
being of this world. Christianity was originally the
annunciation of God in man; and the people of the
Northern States of this republic have more clearly
apprehended that essential feature of Christianity than
the whole church of the past eighteen centuries.

Religion, in these States, during the period named,
has flowed with a steady current towards the recognition
of the Divine in Human Nature, and the consecration
of human affairs. The Deity has chiefly been
worshiped on the side of his Infancy that is turned
towards man, and best known as the Father, the
omnipotent familiar Love. Jesus has been
chiefly esteemed for his glorious Manhood, even in the
churches that proclaim him God Almighty. The Scriptures
have been drawn forth from the artificial sanctity
of casuistic and priestly documents, and studied
as the summit of human religious literature; and the
characters and events therein described adjusted to
their place in the history of mankind. Man has been
regarded more in the light of his divine capacities and
magnificent latent powers, than for what he actually is.
The rights of man to all the freedom essential to
develop that nature into divine proportions, have been
every year more loudly asserted; and, as a consequence,
all unholy institutions, inhuman relations and
degrading social habits have more and more come under
the condemnation of Religion; while Philanthropy
has been the water-worn of the most energetic
popular movements of the day.

Living, as the present generation of Northern people
has, in the very thick of this great onward impulse,
being themselves in the marching ranks of the
great army of advance, they have hardly comprehended
the impetus with which their order of society has
gone on, and the depth to which the popular ideas
have penetrated. Like a deep and swiftly-flowing
river, it has sped along, bearing conservative and radical
towards a point far ahead of the suspicion of either.
Our Northern controversies between Orthodox and
Liberal, Democrat and Republican, have been like the
disputes of passengers in a fast-sailing boat. The
hunker could be at the wheel, and the radical stir up
the coals in the furnace, but both were in a ship
headed the same way, both equally interested that
it should be kept afloat. Of course, the velocity of the
progress could only be indicated by some great ob-
stacle. In the North, there has been no obstacle
large enough to materially impede the current. If, in
some districts, it has appeared to be clogged, so that
the eye of the impatient voyager, it hardly appeared
to move, in others it has glided on like a silent
fate speeding to its destiny. One obstacle alone
has been strong enough to check, temporarily, this
tremendous sweep of the higher American life. The
slave society of fifteen States gathering about it all
the venerable associations of an obsolete theology, a
decaying social aristocracy, and the monarchical prin-
ciple in politics, has, during our remembrance, frowned
across the channel of this freest like a great
mailed island mountain, heaped with the refuse of
centuries. Against that island have the grand waves of
our civilization dashed with a maddening agitation,
repressed only to gather in greater volumes, and come
pouring on in a more terrific force.

We could learn the tendencies of Northern civilization
only by the outcry that came up against it
from the land of oppression. One gathering signal
has come ringing from that quarter of the earth
against us, as an infidel, anarchical, aggressive state
of society. The far-seeing men of the South have made
no vital distinction between our classes, parties and
sects, for they have seen, what we did not, that we

were all headed one way. Our religion was driving
towards the exaltation of Human Nature, and would
inevitably carry every thing along with it, and fiercely
precipitate Northern society in a war against their
barbarism. Their efforts to resist this onward move-
ment have always been regarded as temporary by
themselves, and for the last thirty years used as the
pretext to a dissolution of the Union. They have
gradually sought to estrange their people from ours,
to confirm their tendencies of society which differed
from ours. They have forced out their progressive
class into the North, and kept away the radical op-
position from Europe. Their theology has retreated
more and more towards medieval absurdity, and their
churches have parted from Northern fellowship
as fast as could be. They have closed up their States
against our literature, and stifled the expression of
adverse opinions on all topics. Thus have they
prepared the road of retreat to flee from us as
soon as our first great political victory should come.

That battle was won last year. Whatever the
politicians meant by it is of no consequence. God Almighty
and his recent servant Jefferson Davis both know
that it announced the final triumph of an advanced
Religious Civilization in the Republic. It meant that
now the central power of the nation was peacefully to
claim for the progressive ideas of the age the right of
expression in all the States. It meant that the most en-
lightened and sensible advanced men of the South
were to be set above the mob of despots that had so
long kept them down; that free discussion in society
was gradually to prevail; that light was to break in
from all directions; that army, navy, post-office,
judges, custom-houses, every agency of the U. S. gov-
ernment was hereafter to carry a lantern, with the
words "Modern Science" inscribed upon it. If we
ever no immediate purpose, indeed, no wish that the
general government should attempt to abolish slavery;
for them to open the South to the influence of modern
ideas were a sentence of that barbarism to ultimate dis-
integration and death. The leaders of Southern affairs
saw themselves beaten on the field of ideas; and, as
such men always do, refused to submit, and appealed
to the sword. The North responded like the breaking
up of ice in her great rivers in the Spring, and is
now flowing towards that devoted region—an ocean
of steady power, every sparkling drop an armed man.

We have no disposition to shrink the responsibility
for this conflict before the nations of the earth, in the
light of history. The North is responsible for this
war just as Jesus was responsible for the crime of Ju-
das and Pilate; just as Paul and the primitive church
were responsible for the martyrdoms inflicted by the
emperor of Rome; just as Luther caused the Thirty
Years' war; and our American ancestors the war
of the Revolution; and every advance causes the resistance
and tumult inaugurated by its enemies. Truth
and pure religion are always irresistible, and must
prevail. If the obstacle is not too strong, the triumph
is peaceful; otherwise, the victory comes through
blood. The leaders of society in the South refused to
be regenerated, however peacefully, by the advancing
power of the purest religion and the highest modern
life. In their madness, they have charged us with
tyranny, and arrayed their people against us as ene-
mies. We accept their challenge. We, in behalf
of God and Christ, and Humanity and Liberty, are the
foes of all their evil, the friends of themselves and
their posterity. Had they cooperated with us in
building up a true Republic, there would have been no
war. They grasped the sword to destroy the Re-
public, and must abide the issue of the conflict. They
are in a great hurry to destroy us; we are able
to take our time to save them. This has come about
this civil war, as we hear it called. It means that
a higher form of religion had carried the society of the
North with it down to Mason and Dixon's line; and
finding there a hundred thousand armed men opposing
its passage, has gathered about it the tremendous
agencies of our modern life, and prepared to cross
the border and regenerate the country down to the
Gulf, and out to the Pacific.

2d. From this point of view, we can discover the true
relation of this war of Independence to the religious
advancement of the country. On the side of the
North, it is a part of a great movement towards a higher
American faith, which shall include a purer civiliza-
tion. We are not now waging war to exterminate
any class of men, or to crush out any social order by
the iron heel of military despotism. We have no intention
of subjugating the most unreluctant State to the condi-
tion of a conquered province. The mission of our arms
is the same as our ideas, to develop a higher condition
of society by the protection of the best elements of Republican
government against their foes. There are more than ten
righteous men in every succeeding community who, if
protected and permitted to inaugurate a better tendency
of affairs can finally regenerate their Soil. The most
valuable confederate State contains citizens enough who
are not only loyal to the Union, but desire to make
the Union a Christian Democracy. It is the vocation
of the military power to suppress the despotism that
now crushes these men into the dust; to vindicate for
them the right to use all legitimate means of elevating
their own communities. There are also hun-
dreds of thousands of deluded people who suppose
that, in fighting their national government, they are
resisting the most odious tyranny. It is the purpose
of our military organization to dispel this illusion,
and show these misguided soldiers their grievous mis-
take. There is a political theory widely prevalent
that palsies the loyalty of thousands of sincere and
amiable men. We are to teach these speculators that
there is a nationality on this continent that, in the
name of God and humanity, as well as by legal right,
claims their allegiance in behalf of mankind. There
are also wicked and turbulent leaders to be defeated,
disgraced, and disposed of in a way that will best fur-
ther the great interests at stake in this contest.

Our army is therefore the rod in the hand of a pa-
ternal government, for correction and regeneration.
Never was it, therefore, so important as now that the
military should be held in strict subordination to the
civil power. The splendid volunteer force of 300,000,
that the coming autumn will behold, arrayed for the
protection of our nationality, must be a machine in
the hands of our government to develop a religious
patriotism.

It is no crusades' irrepressible host,
swung by fierce impulse against a barbaric foe. It is
not an aggregate of petty armies, marshalled by par-
tisan leaders for demoralizing border warfare. It is in-
deed a fearful thing to behold an army of European
dimensions enrolled on our peaceful soil, and we must
all try to understand its legitimate use, or we shall
find our remedy as hard to bear as our disease. The
people must not forget the cause of this collision;
the temporary interruption of a great social and
religious reformation. They have called out this grand
army to remove that obstruction, so that Ameri-
can civilization may go on in its course of peaceful
reconstruction of society. That military power must
be held tightly clenched in the hand of the civil au-
thorities, guided by the most comprehensive and
paternal policy towards offenders. The voice of our
higher civilization, speaking through our vigorous and
humane administration, has already cried out, "To
thy tents, O Israel!" and a mighty host has responded
to the cry. The same power now commands us to
restrain our impatience, while that assemblage of
patriotic and intelligent citizens are taught the art of
warfare. We must cease from our frantic cries for
immediate and brilliant operations, and wait till our
army can go forth, arrayed with all that modern sci-
ence and skill can devise. Then, if the gates of
our nationality demand a blow, let it fall like the bolt
out of heaven, and crush whatever comes within its
range. If comprehensive Christian statesmanship
commands us to wait for months, and hang over the
border like a threatening cloud, let us comply like
one man. However eager our newly-made warriors
may be to distinguish themselves and serve their
country on bloody fields, they must remember they
are the servants of the American people, speaking
through their lawful government, and go enthusi-
astically to any service that power may dictate.

As far as I am able to see, the administration has
evidently prepared to make this use of our army: to
employ it as an instrument for regenerating the South.
Never did a government begin a contest against a re-
bellious district in a more Christian spirit. It has had
a noble auxiliary in our great Commander-in-Chief,
whose successes have never left a stain on American
annals. Already we have seen enough to divine the
spirit of the war; and we can point triumphantly to
our volunteer army, in contrast with the host arrayed
against it. Never did two hostile camps more cer-
tainly symbolize the ideas they are set to enforce.
The army of treason, in its march, forces every coun-
try back to the condition of barbarism. It sweeps
the land clean of the great public works that are the
glory of our free industry. It burns the railroad
bridge; blows up the dam; drains the canal; tears
up the rails; cuts the wires of the telegraph, sets
its privates upon our commerce; plunders the farm;
shuts up the manufactory and the mine, and impresses
the mechanic; destroys the property of its enemy;
repudiates all mercantile obligations and plunders its
own people of their chief staples, under the trans-
parent sophism of a cotton loan. It muzzles the press
and tramples out free speech; closes the church and
school, and forces master and pupil, priest and parish
into the ranks. It is an army of destruction, a beast
of ten horns and ten iron feet, butting, kicking, tramp-
ing and bellying against everything that wears the
form of modern civilization. Its weapons are broken
oaths, perjured faith, official theft, grand and petty
larceny. It has yet not advanced one step beyond the
original Indian method of warfare. Whenever
it can prevail by overpowering preponderance of num-
bers, or take advantage of the civilized forbearance of
its foe, or skulk in ambuscade, it fights. Whenever
challenged to open conflict, it flies or flees. Its gen-
erals keep up the spirit of the rank and file by the
stupid lies that our President is a sot; our cities in
rebellion; our soldiers insatiate and lustful beasts;
our population a second edition of the Goths and Van-
dals. It is the same kind of host and works by the
same methods that any wicked usurper or band of
conspirators against humanity has gathered in past
days to affront mankind.

We have an army that for intelligence, cool and
rational comprehension of its cause, bravery and en-
durance, subordination and patriotic fervor, is unpar-
alleled in the annals of the world. Behind it, pro-
tected by its ranks, flourish all the arts of peace.
Society in the North has undergone no essential
change by the detrainment of 300,000 from its midst.
Wherever it moves, carrying the banner of American
hope and prophecy, disorder subsides, industry is re-
stored, the railroad is rebuilt, the river spanned, the
wire re-united, the press, free discussion, absolute
safety to all the interests of life reappear. It is the
army of restoration; not only replacing what has
been destroyed by rebellion, but carrying new ideas
into an adverse society. 300,000 pair of sharp eyes
will now behold the nakedness of slavery and oppres-
sion have brought on a glorious country, and the
laney to which it has reduced a noble people.
300,000 busy brains will ponder the mighty lesson;
and, if we mistake not, this march is the prophecy of
a future immigration even more significant than the
exodus out of Europe to America. Our army is to be
the first practical manifestation of Northern civiliza-
tion to the masses in the South. I have no appre-
hension for its bravery, endurance, zeal. I have an
abiding hope that the ideas of our greatest statesman
and commander-in-chief can prevail; and our army be
a true representation to that distracted region, not only
of our invincible power and fertility of resource, but
of the virtues and spirit that propose to restore and not
destroy.

I fear more than anything, especially in view of
occasional defeat and outrage, that low ferocity, which,
under the guise of patriotic ardor, is clamoring, through
a portion of the press and upon the streets, for a war
of extermination. The foremost journals of the coun-
try appear to me to be so bewildered by the glare of
bayonets, that they do not see the men beyond. It is
easy to understand how a belligerent editor, or a mer-
chant infuriated by the destruction of his business, or
a politician on the chase for power, should thus seek
to change the whole character of this war. It is al-
ready proclaimed in the leading journal of the city
of New York, that this is not a political, but a military
war. With all deference to the statements of the *Tribune*
editor, I still believe we are a paternal govern-
ment, going forth to restore a deluded people to al-
liance, and not a military despotism ready to depose
its own government, when it steps in the way of its
arbitrary behests. I object to this sanguinary philo-
sophy, because it is not forcible, but weak, as barbarism
always is. The United States government, if in-
spired by the force of modern civilization, can use
a great army in the office of restoring the Union,
on a higher basis than it has ever rested. Its force
is not so much the logic of the bullet, the cartridge
and the cannon, as the varied, far-reaching power
of a mighty civilization, concentrated against a mad
rebellion. Our greatest forces are behind our bayo-
nets; we use them only to clear away the lumber that
impedes us. Our army of three hundred thousand
is only a band of pioneers, sent southward to level the
mountains and fill the valleys, and make everywhere a
pathway for the approach of the second host of twenty
million of freemen, who will shoot through all the
realms of darkness the rays of light and love and
peace. If civilization demands the gallows for any
rebel leader, the destruction of any stronghold of
treason, the forcible smothering of any order of soci-
ety, we must submit. But let our force be that of
Providence, that only sends the freshet to fertilize the
field, and the thunderstorm to purify the air. If our
army can vindicate on every rood of our vast terri-
tory the right of free expression for American ideas,
it will be the most magnificent victory ever achieved;
a new revelation in warfare, as our system is in poli-
tics. Let that be done, at all events. Let every
Christian man and woman strengthen the hands of
the government to do that, irresistibly, but in the
spirit of humanity and parental discipline, which shall
chain these rebellious communities to us by an in-
dissoluble bond. Then this year's war will be only
an episode in the grand drama of the establishment of
a higher religion and society on American soil.

Indeed, it is our peculiar glory that we are strong
enough to dispense with all rashness, revenge, piracy
or rapine. We cannot afford to violate one precept of
Christianity, in our dealing with our rebellious fellow-
citizens. A barbarism that is smitten with mortal
disease may as well die cursing and foaming; it is
already damned, and it is only the difference of a few
degrees of penal heat in hell whether it perishes de-
cently or wrathfully. The men who lead this rebel-
lion, and the disorder of society they represent, have
already done enough to cast themselves with infamy
while the world shall last; they can afford to assassi-
nate, rob, repudiate debts, murder for opinion's sake,
legalize savage modes of warfare, or whatever will
conquer them and the pangs of dissolving nature. But
the American civilization that is warring to over-
whelm them is only in the beginning of its illustrious
history; it is to stretch down into ages of light and
peace, when every dark blood-spot on its robes will
be scanned by eyes of holy severity. It cannot afford,
in the passion of the hour, to sacrifice one life too
many, to disgrace our country by one questionable
step. It is warring in the view of heaven, and all
that represents heaven on earth; let its advance be
like the procession of nature, and its progress resem-
ble the benediction of an all-wise and loving Providence.

3d. But let us look beyond this transient collision of
arms to the most important movement of which it is
the noisy herald. What has the new enthusiasm of
the last months already done for the cause of advanced
Religion; and if we prove worthy our mission, what
new opportunities and achievements may we hope
for in the approaching future?

The lover of a progressive Religion has only reason
to rejoice, thus far, over the great uprising of our
people. It has already united good men of all religious
creeds in a bond more vital than their sectarian
church. It is wonderful how these high walls of the
religious separation, that seemed unscalable six months
ago, have suddenly turned out only walls of paper,
"rolling together like a scroll" in the fervent heat of
this great practical revival of mankind. I knew the
hearts of a hundred priests the day after the bomb-
ardment of Sumter better than from all our previ-
ous life together. We always half knew these theo-
logical fortifications in which we played at besieging
one another were the amusement of our idle years.
That Sunday, we ceased the sham-fight of creeds and
patriotic boasts, overleaped our petty ditches, and clasped
one another's hands, as we all fell into line at the call
of Humanity. If that day severed a thousand hearts
from us in the regions of rebellion, it brought together
tens of thousands of religious souls that had all their
lives imagined themselves each other's enemies.

It has also revealed to multitudes of men their real
religious creed. In times of peace, when the social
proprieties rule, it is hard for any body to know what
he actually believes about God, man, duty, destiny.
We fall among sets of people, schools, churches,
cliques, and are overlaid by their platitudes till we
imagine ourselves of them, and go on in parrot like
volubility chattering the shibboleth of the party. But
the President's proclamation was a call to every
American—"Right about! Face yourself!" Each of
us, as our eye fell on the journal that Monday morn-
ing, found himself confronted with a stranger—his
own spirit. Many a spiritual braggart quailed that
morning; many a modest man or woman shot up into
a hero or a heroine; many a boy sauntered down to
a late breakfast, and marched away to the recruiting
station a new-born man; many a person shed his sur-
plice and loosed his neckcloth, and stood up like unto
his brethren. Men are now acting out what they
really believe. Bishop Polk, of Louisiana, throws his
canonicals out the window, and, waving aloft his com-
mission of Brigadier from Jefferson Davis, proclaims
himself openly the pirate he always was at heart.
Dr. Spring, in the sleepy sanctity of the "brick
church," hears the war-cry on Broadway, flies to his
attic and tears down his father's old continental mus-
ket and regimentals, marches over to Philadelphia,
and in a voice that makes the bones of Israel Putnam
and Ethan Allen stir in their coffins, commands the
Old School Presbyterian Church to "present arms!"
We are all so mixed nowadays, that nobody knows his
old associates. The slumbering convictions that lay
underneath the superficial crust of our humdrum life
have exploded, hurling many of us "into the middle
of next week," as the children say. There is a hail
storm of ecclesiasticalism—churchmen who have been
shot out of the opinions of the middle ages into the
middle of the nineteenth century. It is beautiful to
see the enthusiasm of these newly-awakened men;
it is good to be reinforced by their burning zeal.
We shall never again distrust human nature as we
did; but know that Truth itself is hiding her time
when she seems dead.

There was never a time when man stood so well in
the Church in America as to-day. A mighty practical
danger has blown away, for the time, the whole
cloud-dust of future perdition for the non-believer.
The care now in the sanctuary is, how to feed, dress,
nurture and cheer the soldier; how to keep the wolf
from the door of his home while he fights for the
Republic; how to console the widow and mother;
how to dispose of the captive; how to care for the
fugitive. This is only a beginning of a great career
of Christian philanthropy. What a change, when
fashionable young ladies no longer wear altar-cloths
and slippers and bands for the priest, but hawker-
s, and handkerchiefs, and solid trousers for the soldier!
The next half century is to take the practical pro-
cedure of the churches in caring for the race of bondmen
who will be emancipated, and keeping up with the
rush of emigration that our new States will bring
upon us. God will be served through good deeds done
to his children.

And it is good to have such an exposé of the ultra
pietism and ecclesiasticalism in the American Church
as now appears. Without exception, this side of our
religion has thrown out the pirate's flag and gone
over to the enemy. Through the whole revolted re-
gion, the Church plumed itself on its severe conserva-
tism in creed and policy. We now see that ecclesi-
astical infallibility means treason to Republican insti-
tution. This revolution has struck the Roman Catholic
Church anathemas. It has demonstrated in America,
what the uprising of nationality has revealed in Italy,
that the mass of adherents to this church, like all
others, follow their priesthood just to the point where
they resist modern society, and then leave them to
their prayers. The cry of American Freedom in her
hour of peril brought Patrick and Herman to their
feet, and were marching down to Washington, the Bishop
wisely concluded to hang out the flag. Henceforth,
the priesthood of this church, too, must follow, not
lead the people. Twenty million of freemen will see
what kind of religion is best for perilous times;
whether national Massachusetts or superstitious Louisi-
ana started first to relieve the capital. Religious
infallibility means slavery of the soul, as treason
means slavery for the laborer. Our people will put
these things together, and act accordingly.

It is a great thing thus to unite good men of all
churches; to awaken the real creed of all citizens;
to exalt man to his place in religious affairs; to unmask
ecclesiastical infallibility. It clears the way for much
that is to come; it shows how much the Reformation
has already accomplished. None of us dared to hope
we had shaken the foundations of religious despotism
that now lies flat, never again to rise. The spectacle
is full of hope to the apostle of a pure and free Re-
ligion. For if this conflict is carried through as it
can be, and the Union reestablished upon the over-
throw of the right of secession, and the black power
that has dominated so long over us placed for ever in
a secondary position, there will be such a mission-
ary field opened for our advanced Protestant Chris-
tianity as this century has not witnessed. The South
is not a land of darkness and decay, so much as a
region arrested in its development by the temporary
ascendancy of an insolent civil and religious aristoc-